

and American values. All countries benefit from international trade, and all countries must share in the costs of constructing the framework of that trade.

Now, as I have said many times on this floor—I ought not have to repeat it—I am not suggesting that Congress get involved in the minutiae of international trade agreements. I am not suggesting that we inject ourselves into each little teeny-weensy, itty-bitsy tariff determination. Our trade laws, however, are not minutiae. They represent the sole hope for companies that are being picked apart by vulturous foreign trading practices.

Communities across America, all across the land—the East, the West, the North, and the South—are waiting to see whether we are strong enough to stand up for their interests—their interests—the people's interests.

They are waiting to see whether the United States will once more be duped by those whose unabashed—unabashed—motive is to gut the framework of fair trade. If we stand by the Constitution—if we stand by the Constitution—that magnificently balanced instrument of the people, by the people, and for the people, we will not fail our constituents. As well, we will herald a trade policy for the new millennium, a trade policy according to which we do not sacrifice hard-working Americans at the altar, at the altar, at the “Golden Calf,” if you please, of nebulous foreign policy objectives, a trade policy that is based on the pursuit of mutual benefit among sovereign nations.

Now, Mr. President, that is not protectionism. If it is, then I am for it. That is not protectionism. It is a policy based on the traditional principles of national sovereignty as well as the absolute respect of each law-abiding nation for every other such nation. It is a policy the American people expect, and it is one that we—the elected representatives of the people—have a constitutional duty to uphold.

May God bless America. But in doing so, may God bless the Constitution of this Republic. Thank God for that Constitution. I hope the administration will read it over the Thanksgiving holiday. It might be well if we ourselves all read it again.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

EXHIBIT I

[From the Wall Street Journal, Nov. 16, 2001]

POLITICS & POLICY

ZOELLICK'S TRADE CONCESSION WINS WTO TALKS BUT COULD COST BUSH FAST-TRACK AUTHORITY

(By Helene Cooper and Shailagh Murray)

WASHINGTON.—U.S. Trade Rep. Robert Zoellick faced a stark choice when he arrived in Doha, Qatar, last week: He could win either fast-track negotiating authority from Congress or a new round of trade talks.

To get a world Trade Organization deal, Mr. Zoellick, would have to make conces-

sions to poor countries that would so infuriate Congress that lawmakers would't grant fast-track authority. To get fast track, which would allow President Bush to negotiate trade deals that Congress could approve or reject, but not amend, he would have to make concessions to liberal Democrats that would so anger poorer countries that they wouldn't open new trade talks.

On Monday, Mr. Zoellick announced his decision to a group of ministers and delegates at the convention center in Doha, where the WTO was meeting. The U.S., he said, would cede to their demands to allow negotiations on America's hated antidumping laws, which punish other countries that “dump” products on the U.S. market at below cost.

Bill Klinefelter, the United Steelworkers of America representative who sent to Doha to keep Mr. Zoellick from negotiating on U.S. antidumping laws, was furious. Mr. Zoellick, he said, could “kiss fast track goodbye. He's never getting it now.”

The irony is that without fast track, Mr. Zoellick won't be able to conclude the trade talks launched at the WTO meeting. Trade envoys hope to wrap up the talks in three years, though few really believe they will finish that early.

Thursday, lawmakers were still digesting the details of the Doha agreement. Republicans praised it and said they still plan to try to get fast track. House Speaker Dennis Hastert (R., Ill.) said he still hopes to bring fast-track authority to a vote the week after Thanksgiving. But there is little chance of passage without some support from moderate Democrats—and few were cheering.

Mr. Zoellick's fast-track proposal “was not tenable before Doha, and it's even less tenable after Doha,” said Rep. Sander Levin, (D., Mich.) the only lawmaker who attended the WTO meeting.

House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (D., Mo.) told reporters Mr. Zoellick's concessions were “negative in terms of getting agreement on” fast track. “They put on the table for negotiation our antidumping laws,” he said. “We are in the middle of a steel crisis now in terms of losing sales and losing capacity in our steel system.”

The U.S. steel industry is one of the biggest beneficiaries of antidumping laws, so lawmakers from steel states don't want to see those laws weakened. Mr. Zoellick's decision “is a stunning betrayal of America's workers,” said Rep. Peter Visclosky (D., Ind.) vice chairman of the Congressional Steel Caucus. “Putting our trade laws on the table flies in the face of fair trade and totally disregards the expressed will of Congress that our trade laws not be negotiated away.”

Before going to Qatar, Mr. Zoellick said he was fed up with Democrats' demands for more concessions on fast track. He pointed to his decision to allow a big steel trade case to go forward, which could temporarily shutter the U.S. market to some foreign steel. He said his fast-track proposal also addressed labor and environmental concerns of Democrats. “At some point, people are going to have to decide if they can take yes for an answer,” Mr. Zoellick said.

Some moderate Democrats defended Mr. Zoellick's concessions on steel and said they still hope to salvage fast track. “The challenge is making sure everyone understands the provisions,” said Rep. Calvin Dooley (D., Cal.).

In Doha, Mr. Zoellick steadfastly protected America's textile industry. He repeatedly turned down demands from India and Pakistan that the U.S. import more clothing.

That decision was looking almost fortuitous, but it clearly won't be enough to bring about converts on fast track: Burlington Industries Inc., Greensboro, N.C., filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection and blamed it on cheap imports. Burlington Chief Executive George W. Henderson specifically cited the U.S. government as a culprit, saying it used the textile industry as a bargaining chip in international relations.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AVIATION SECURITY ACT CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, the Senate earlier today approved a conference report that will increase security substantially at our Nation's airports. And this is a good step—a good step—toward restoring the American people's confidence in their own safety. And it is a good step forward in rejuvenating our economy, the American economy.

This is very fine legislation. But I wish to remind ourselves that a few days ago we had a golden opportunity to enact other very fine legislation that would go far in rejuvenating the hope, the faith, and the confidence in the minds of the American people that the Government was looking out for their security, for their welfare. And I refer to that amendment which Senator HARRY REID, the distinguished Democratic whip in this body, and the distinguished majority leader, Mr. DASCHLE, and Senator HOLLINGS, and other Senators and I offered, to guarantee, to a much greater extent than I have to explain today, the defense of our homeland, homeland defense.

That legislation was rejected by the minority in this body. So while we congratulate ourselves—and rightly so—on enacting legislation dealing with safety at our airports, safety to the travelers on airplanes, that does not bring an end to the threat of bioterrorism.

The legislation we passed today will not provide for smallpox vaccines and anthrax antibiotics. My amendment a few days ago, the homeland defense amendment to the so-called stimulus bill, would provide for smallpox vaccine, would provide money, \$4 billion, to end the threat of bioterrorism.

Our Republican friends rejected it. I hear that some of the House conferees don't want to have any conferences over there in which the majority leader, Senator DASCHLE, or Senator ROBERT BYRD are in attendance. They don't want to hold any conferences, I hear. I read that in the paper, that certain Members of the other body have

said: We don't want Senator DASCHLE and Senator ROBERT BYRD to be in the room when we are talking about homeland defense.

Will this legislation provide for smallpox vaccine and anthrax antibiotics? No. But our legislation which we offered the other day would have. It was turned down. The Republicans said: No, no, no.

The bill we passed today doesn't improve the training of our doctors and nurses, but that \$15 billion homeland defense amendment would have improved the training of our doctors and nurses, would have expanded the capacity of local hospitals and medical labs.

The legislation we passed today is good legislation, but it leaves much work to be done. Of course, nobody ever told us that that legislation was the alpha and the omega, the beginning and the end, of homeland security legislation. I am not making that charge. But I am talking about some other homeland security provisions that were in the amendment which I offered at the time Mr. MAX BAUCUS, the Senator from Montana, was offering his tax legislation.

Does the legislation we passed today provide counterterrorism training for our local police and fire departments? Does it give them access to new resources and equipment so that they are prepared to respond to possible future terrorist attacks? Does it tighten security at our borders and at our shipping ports? Does it provide for better protection of our food supply against possible biological attack? Sadly, the answer to these questions is a resounding no, no, no.

We in Congress have a responsibility to provide for the common defense. That is what the preamble to the Constitution mentions, among other things: Provide for the common defense. We have a responsibility to provide resources to prevent future potential terrorist attacks and to ensure rapid response should another attack, God forbid, occur. We have a job to do.

While we are at home on Thanksgiving Day, we should give thanks for our many blessings, but we should also be thinking about the job that is still left undone. We have work to do.

To date we have been unable to do that job because of partisan gridlock. What a sad commentary on the Senate. What a sad commentary on the Congress. When we return from the Thanksgiving break, we will refocus. We will be back, Lord willing. We will be back. We will refocus on homeland security, homeland defense. I hope we can make the same kind of rapid bipartisan progress to improve our defenses here at home as we have achieved today in airport security.

I yield the floor. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

WOMEN IN AFGHANISTAN

Mr. REID. Mr. President, this week we have watched on television the images of women in various places in Afghanistan, in cities, towns, running into the streets without male relatives and throwing away their burqas. I was here a week ago talking about how women were treated in Afghanistan. I brought with me the eyeshade they must wear, which is netting they can barely see out of and people can see nothing beyond. All over Afghanistan, women can wear these if they want, but they are not required.

A week ago, women would have been beaten publicly, or even executed, for these acts. Under the Taliban's rule, women could not work outside the home, receive an education, or even leave their home unless accompanied by a close male relative—brother, father, or husband.

The defeat of the Taliban means that Afghan women are now free from the Taliban's brutal rule. As we begin the peace process and reconstruction of the Afghan Government, we cannot forget about the women who, in spite of the Taliban's harsh edicts, risked their lives to run home schools and health clinics. That is just not a matter of a few words. They actually risked their lives by taking care of sick people and teaching kids how to read.

We have to remember that, prior to the Taliban's rule, Afghan women were scientists, professors, Members of Parliament, and university professors. They led corporations and nonprofit organizations. In fact, women were 70 percent of the nation's schoolteachers, 40 percent of the doctors, 50 percent of the civilian government workers, and 50 percent of the college students in Kabul.

These women must play a role in the rebuilding of post-Taliban Afghanistan. In particular, the education system must be rebuilt with the help of the women, who once comprised the majority of the nation's teachers. I hope that we, at the first opportunity, move in an army of Peace Corps workers. They will teach people English and how to read generally.

I hope the United Nations will focus on the problems of education in Afghanistan. We have to direct our humanitarian aid to the specific needs of the Afghan women and girls who suffered major setback after major setback as a result of this tyrannic rule. For example, over 90 percent of Afghan girls are illiterate. Rebuilding the country's educational system is the

only way to repair the damage Afghan women and girls have suffered at the hands of the Taliban. Women will be key to this event.

We also cannot let misconceptions about a very good religion, Islam, guide our efforts in the reshaping of a post-Taliban Afghanistan. Nowhere does the religion say women cannot be educated or employed. In fact, the president of the world's largest Islamic organization in Indonesia is a woman.

As I said, 70 percent of Afghanistan's teachers were women prior to the Taliban regime. Afghanistan first adopted a constitution in 1964 that included universal suffrage, equal rights for women, and separation of powers with an independent judiciary. Afghan women were members of the judiciary, Parliament, and Cabinet, and 30 percent of Afghan's civil service workers were women.

If we are truly committed to restoring the human rights of the Afghan people, and we are, then we must be truly committed to restoring the rights of Afghan women because then women will be given from the start a seat at the table of the peace process and the establishment of the future Government of Afghanistan. Only then will we be truly able to secure the rights of the Afghan women.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CARPER). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROVIDING FOR CONDITIONAL ADJOURNMENT OR RECESS OF CONGRESS

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the adjournment resolution S. Con. Res. 85 submitted earlier today by Senator DASCHLE; that the concurrent resolution be agreed to and the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The matter is privileged. The concurrent resolution is agreed to.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 85) was agreed to, as follows:

S. CON. RES. 85

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That when the House adjourns on the legislative day of Friday, November 16, 2001, Saturday, November 17, 2001, Monday, November 19, 2001, or Tuesday, November 20, 2001, on a motion offered pursuant to this concurrent resolution by its Majority Leader or his designee, it stand adjourned until 2 p.m. on Tuesday, November 27, 2001, or until Members are notified to reassemble pursuant to section 2 of this concurrent resolution, whichever occurs first;